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Growing internal tensions within the San Francisco State College erupted into what may have been the most complex, many-faceted struggle of college upheavals in 1969. Underlying the College's campus disturbances are the rising aspirations of students for experientially-oriented college programs, the surge of minority efforts to gain wide access to higher education, the drive for black and other ethnic studies, and a serious thrust for student power. In addition, the faculty's alienation and disappointment with the deteriorating conditions of California higher education and the increasingly conservative Board of Trustees provided a seedbed for their rebellion. It may be too early to say what can be learned from the College's struggles, and it may be difficult for some educators to learn what must be learned if urban higher education is to adapt itself in a successful way to the social and cultural revolution of which it is now a part. However, an ex-President of San Francisco State College presents a list containing 11 of his observations concerning what may have been some ineffective responses to campus disorders. They cover how the administration and faculty handled student challenges, the cleavages and hostilities among individuals and groups which made the resolution of conflicts impossible, minority group power struggles on campus, and attitudes of students, faculty, administrators and the pubiic. (WM)

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Special Session VIII
Tuesday afternoon, March 4

THE SAN FRANCISCO STATE EXPERIENCE: WHAT CAN BE LEARNED FROM IT?*

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Four years ago, just after the Free Speech Movement upheaval at Berkeley, I discussed at this annual conference the nature of tensions within the large urban college and university campuses.**

On May 30, last spring, I assumed the presidency of San Francisco State College rather unexpectedly on President John Summerskill's departure for Ethiopia. At that time, I re-read my 1965 speech and judged it good as far as it went. That analysis noted the growing isolation of faculty coupled with their increasing tendency to identify with their professional organizations rather than the institution, at a time in which faculty groups were also demanding more power in institutional affairs. It noted the growing thrust for student power, the increasing numbers of student groups demanding structural changes in institutions of higher education and resorting to direct action to achieve their ends. It explored the growing lag in the administration's and governance structure in relation to the pyramiding human relations problems both within the colleges and within the State College System. Significantly, it did not deal with the trenchant drive of the racial and ethnic groups to expand their access to higher education and to define and control ethnically oriented programs within the colleges.

One must concede that most of the trends toward growing internal tensions within the San Francisco State College campus have since moved far beyond the 1965 level--as they have in many colleges and universities around the world. After all, this is a generation later as measured by college students, or by "anthropological time."

Ours is a campus of some 20,000 people, 94 acres, with a program beginning at 8:00 a.m. and ending at 10:00 o'clock in the evening. It is heavily upper-division and graduate, with a student body whose median age is 24+ years. The usual teaching load is 12 semester units; the plant is used at the rate of about 130 per cent of capacity. We have been viewed as the "jewel" of the 18-campus California State College System. We have been quick to admit that ours is a distinguished faculty, confident of its capacity to govern the institution if given reasonable freedom, and largely convinced that the Trustees and Chancellor have prevented it from doing so.

Since November 6, when the student strike involving the B.S.U. and Third World Liberation Front began, the campus has been temporarily closed because of disorder three times, once by me and twice by Acting President Hayakawa who succeeded me on November 26. There have been some six hundred arrests on campus and class attendance probably dropped as low as 25-30 per cent during the last weeks of the semester. Since January 6, the American Federation of Teachers has been on strike partly in

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sympathy with the students' fifteen "non-negotiable" demands and largely in behalf of improved working conditions and increased control over campus affairs. As I write, three probable candidates for the California Governorship in 1970 are locked in a public battle over whether or not the trustee-administrative-AFT agreement to end the strike has any standing. The student strike continues. A recent strike bulletin avows the intent to continue the strike by "any means necessary" until all 15 of the "non-negotiable" demands have been met. A recent carefully drawn sample of student opinion reported that just over half of the student body supported the student strike and just under half supported the faculty strike. A January poll of full time faculty showed 64 per cent opposed the strike. The strikes have drawn support from the Associated Students Governing body, the SDS, other white radical student groups on the campus, about one-third of the faculty, and most but not all of the black faculty and administrators on campus.

Since November 6, a number of potentially lethal bombs were discovered and de-fused, others detonated on campus. There have been three major instances of arson: one an administrator's office; another an administrator's home. On one day fifty small fires were set, and all toilets were stopped up except the president's. While there have been beatings on campus both by strikers and by police, no one has been critically injured--at least physically. The campus continues in a state of emergency with all rallies and large meetings restricted and with uniformed police at all access points and on most floors of some twenty buildings. Police and related costs are hard to come by. I estimate them to be in the neighborhood of $1,000,000 since November 6.

We have had three presidents within the past year and six in the past eight years, if acting presidents are counted. Our faculty just recently voted 416 - 167 to uphold the action taken by the statewide Academic Senate last May to express no confidence in Chancellor Glenn Dumke and to ask him to resign. This compared with a 65 per cent vote of no confidence throughout the System's seventeen reporting colleges.

A colleague of mine who has studied some thirty college and community upheavals during the past five years, is convinced that ours is the most complex, many faceted struggle of them all.

Perhaps it's too early to say with confidence what can be learned from San Francisco's State College's struggles. Perhaps my generation cannot learn what must be learned if urban higher education is to adapt itself successfully to the social and cultural revolution of which it is now clearly a part. It is important, though, to try. Here are some perceptions I have gleaned from our experiences at San Francisco State.

1. Under pressure of continuing campus disorder, the latent cleavages and hostilities among individuals and groups within the institution became severe problems in efforts to maintain an intelligible, coherent response to the crisis and the resolution of the conflicts within the institutions. Ideological - attitudinal cleavages pose the greatest hazards to those attempting to work toward conciliatory solutions. The substantial breakdown of faculty government during late November and December was one major result of such cleavages and differences.

2. The business-as-usual pattern of student, faculty, and administrative government were not adequate to the pressures for change and could not be quickly superceded by a sufficiently mobile decision-making process in a climate of continuing tension marked by checkmating activities at several levels. The traditional dispersal of responsibility, prerogatives, and power within the academic community became an

albatross in a multiple conflict situation. This, coupled with centralized control of the system of colleges at the chancellor-trustee level, seriously hampered the executive functions at the campus level. S.I. Hayakawa resolved this problem temporarily by casting his lot with the chancellor and trustees and the predominant pressure of public opinion.

3. In the face of student sponsored challenges, confrontations, and disruptions, the crisis efforts of the administration and faculty leadership to contain the disorder and moderate the issues blurred the institution's policies and positions. This provided the seedbed for major faculty and staff defections--some in behalf of dissident students, others in behalf of "law and order," and still others in a search for outside assistance (from the mayor, the governor, or sympathetic trustees and trustee staff members). Some faculty groups such as the American Federation of Teachers and the Faculty Rennaissance, (a moderate to conservative faculty group) have moved strongly to consolidate their power during the extended period of disorder. The AFT struck and the Rennaissance spokesman, S.I. Hayakawa, became Acting President. The potential for resolution of major campus issues may have thus been thrust beyond the reach of the campus.

4. Large scale "convocations" involving the suspension of the instructional schedule, and called as a crisis tactic during campus disorders proved a precarious enterprise. The activists seized upon it as another possibility for confrontation with the establishment and a vehicle for radicalizing students and faculty. Most faculty and administrators supporting it saw it as a means of exploring issues and informing themselves and others. On the other hand, many faculty and students viewed a convocation as appeasement and a waste of time, or worse. The majority of trustees and the chancellor reacted negatively along the same lines. I agreed to the convocation in the hope that growing polarization between faculty groups and student groups might be reduced. Successful efforts of activist students and faculty in turning the planning and conduct of the convocation to confrontation probably deepened campus polarization -- especially among faculty. It moved the trustees toward massive police action as the basic approach to campus disorder. Too hasty planning for a massive operation contributed to the random elements, despite intensive efforts of the planning group.

5. The continuing campus power struggle at San Francisco State during the past fifteen months involves racial and ethnic aspirations translated into action. That aspect of the conflict appears to have destroyed the role effectiveness of most of the more recently employed faculty and administrators from minority groups within the college. This problem began to worry me about a year ago during my work with a campus committee of inter-racial composition. Despite special efforts through the summer and fall, we lost ground on this problem steadily before I left the presidency. Since the beginning of December, most have openly joined the militants in support of the strike and against the official stance of the college. This may prove to be one of the most costly outcomes of our disorders.

6. The official or institutional communication pattern within the college has been grossly inadequate in the face of cross-campus movements. This includes communications efforts of the faculty and the administration. They are largely directed to administrators and faculty rather than students and staff. They have been stylized, rational and circumspect, largely written and telephonic communications. They have been outflanked by multi-media approaches used by student and faculty activists. These have included mass meetings, underground press, throwaway bulletins, wall posters, "truth squads," bull horns, sound trucks, agitprap theater, seminars, teach-ins, and other experimental techniques.

7. Traditional notions of slow institutional due process related to faculty and student personnel matters, including disciplinary codes and procedings have become grossly inadequate on a large campus convulsed by disorder in which large numbers of students and faculty participate. Further, attempts to reestablishing them in ways relevant to the situation in a period of conflict and tension have proved fruitless. Hence the resort to administrative edict, declaration of campus emergency, and actions akin to summary court procedures on ours and other campuses. This results to the too quick further resort to "massive police" force, mass arrests, and the transfer of problems of campus social control to off-campus police jurisdictions and the transfer of student and faculty disciplinary procedures to the courts. The student demands for "general amnesty" as a condition of peace on campus compounds the resolution of disruptive conflict on campus, especially as the potential criminal penalties mount.

8. As the campus disruptions endure (four months on our campus), resolution becomes more improbable and a period of severe attrition becomes the prospect. Adamant public positions crystallize. The locus of solution escalates (ours is at the level of the governor's office and the legislature, if not beyond). Off-campus forces joining the fray multiply. They have included radical groups of the right, the left and the racial and ethnic minorities. Political candidates, professional organizations, disturbed persons bent on destruction, "blue ribbon" civic groups, nationally recognized mediators, incognito state legislators, special investigators, from the governor's office, the state attorney general's office, the F.B.I., task forces from the chancellor's office, and mass media people from as far away as Los Angeles and Hong Kong. This changes the nature of college administration. They add to the overload of the administrative staff and the public information office. The intruders become random elements in the processes of conflict resolution as well as the propaganda and psychological battles which are a major aspect of campus crisis. Proposals for simple and pat solutions become a dime a dozen and are projected outward from the campus, returning through other channels to haunt the hard-pressed campus leaders.

Much pre-planning for housing, briefing, coordinating, and controlling these off-campus personnel can delimit their consequences in escalation of the problems.

9. Relationships between the campuses and external law enforcement agencies present an underdoveloped, precarious problem infused with dilemmas. In large urban institutions campus police and security resources need complete overhaul. As John Searles has noted, a determined, imaginative minority can almost assuredly provoke the calling of police onto a campus, and provoke them to direct counteraction to protect persons and property. The alternative is to close a campus at the drop of a hat--raising a major problem of how to get it reopened under more favorable circumstances. Once police move onto campus, the police captain or the sheriff becomes in fact the acting president--but the president retains the ensuing responsibilities. Reportedly, at least one president, grasping this fact fully, took naps during the height of noonday disturbances, thereby remaining fresh for afternoon press conferences.

10. The patterns of campus disruption associated with our student strike, "flea attacks" and adopted versions of guerrilla warfare, are sufficiently novel, experimental and disruptive to require major revision of procedures for campus control during a period of well-planned campus disorder.

Patterns of college-community relationships have always been extensive and far flung at San Francisco State. They largely relate to campus training program involvement, individual faculty community commitments, student sponsored community service programs, cultural events, and extension programs. They include a law pressure,

somewhat neglected local Advisory Board, and special advisory groups for some programs. Efforts to establish continuing relationships with emerging minority group leadership and other groups which might have motivated campus tensions were sporadic and less than effective. The patterns of college-community relationships must be re-ordered.

11. Relationships with the chancellor's staff and trustees, with few exceptions, were totally ineffective in gaining assistance during my term of office. They consumed great chunks of previous time and were counter-productive in escalating the problems on campus and in eroding the authority of the president and administrative staff on campus. They became the vehicle for massive political involvement in the attempted resolution of difficulties.

Underlying the campus disturbances at San Francisco State College are the rising aspirations of students for experientially oriented college programs, the surge of minority efforts to gain wide access to higher education, the drive for black and other ethnic studies, and a serious thrust for student power. Faculty alienation and disappointment with what I see as the deteriorating conditions of California higher education and with the increasingly conservative Board of Trustees provided a seedbed for faculty rebellion. The growing disparity between the norms of expectation and behaviors on a vital urban campus and an increasingly conservative ideological climate in California provide an explosive potential that threatens the future of the college and the stability of the state.

Yet beneath the public pasturing the displays of intransigent hostilities on camera, the actors are poignantly human, and many are thinking with an intensity never before experienced. A small sign over a secretary's desk struck my fancy the other day. It said, "The end of the world has been postponed for ninety days due to a shortage of trumpeters." I was tempted to suggest that we substitute bullhorns and get it over with. But I decided to hold off a bit because, despite the above problems and others, we are really deeply engaged in the urban and cultural revolution of our time. Where else should one be?